1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

through the house floor; and it is probably the same notion at work: if the animal were to eat the afterbirth it might have an adverse effect on the woman's fecundity. 844

In the one instance of which I have definite information the confinement took place in the afternoon and the child was at the breast next morning. Suckling may continue till the child has long passed the stage of learning to walk, though it is treated to a variety of solid foods as well. [853]

During the first few days of the child's life its father must avoid the dangers of gardening. If he were to strike at a young sapling with his axe it would be as if he struck at his baby's neck, with the possible result that 'the blood would come up' and the child choke and die. This association of ideas I have met with several times, and Mr. Flint records the same, as if it were a somewhat ghastly obsession. 'One man told me he could not fell a tree until his child was two days old. I asked him the reason. He informed me that if he did so it would be the same as cutting his baby's throat.' This couvade-like practice is very general. In rather extreme form it appears in another of Mr. Flint's instances. His interpreter at Kokoda had washed clothes the day his first child was born, with what proved to be fatal results. On the birth of his second he applied for two days' leave from the office, lest this child should die too, and needless to say received it from a sympathetic master, though his work consisted merely in interpreting.[1] It is for a somewhat different reason that the father refuses to plant taro too soon after his child is born: here he is considering his garden, for the plant would rot in the ground like the buried placenta. 846

It is said that abnormal children would be strangled at birth and buried, and this is probably true. But whether a mother would destroy a child who simply made one too many in her family and necessitated unwelcome work and trouble, is certainly a matter of doubt, although it has been declared to be the case by one or two witnesses. It is at least certain that a child who had lived long enough to find a place in its parents' affections would not be deliberately killed. But as life in itself is regarded very lightly, it is by 847

[1] *Annual Report*, 1924–5, p. 47.

3: Reay E-4, 5 (1951) 1953 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

867 much as the education of the young is a conscious activity of adults, the internalization of norms and ideal patterns involves the manipulation of sanctions. What is sanctioned in childhood is the kind of behaviour required in adult life, plus a range of permitted behaviour, tolerated in youth, which diminishes as the individual grows older. So, secondly, we should be able to find within the field of education *a model of the kind of sanctions which circumscribe adult behaviour. I.e.*, if shame is a dominant sanction in adult life, it would not be surprising to find parents and other educators shaming the recalcitrant child and, at an earlier stage, ensuring that the individual will become sensitive to shame.

Thirdly, it is possible to view education as *authority in action*. It is important to know who educates, and what kinds of authority are exercised during the educative process. In a relatively stable society, we should expect some continuity between these kinds of authority and the kinds of authority used in the workaday and political activities of adults.

858 There are five stages in the Orokaiva life cycle. The last two—adult person 882 (*embo*, or female *pamone*) and aged adult (*embo evovo* or *pamone evovo*) need not 888 concern us here. It is necessary, however, to consider the first three: the baby (*meni orosati*), the little child (*meni isapa*) and the big boy or girl (*meni dombo*), in some detail, and then to examine the initiation ceremony which marks the transition from *meni dombo* to adult *embo* or *pamone*.

Orokaiva Childhood

854 An Orokaiva baby, from birth to the time he can walk, is known as *meni orosati*. 482 He lives in a string bag which his mother carries wherever she goes. As the mother jogs along to the gardens, the pliant string bag is pulled taut by the baby's weight, and the characteristic pre-natal position is induced. When she gets to the gardens, she puts the string bag on some leaves on the ground, or hangs it from the branch of a tree, and goes about her digging and weeding. If the baby cries, demonstrating that he is hungry, she will come over to him, take him out of the string bag, and sit 853 down on the ground to feed him. She pushes her nipple into his mouth, continues talking to the other woman, and apparently forgets the baby until he relaxes against her in sleep. Then she puts the baby back into the string bag. If the baby should cry when he is obviously not hungry, the mother gives him no more attention than a single enquiring glance, but if he continues to show signs of pain or sickness she consults one of the old women about him. This is done casually, whenever she happens to meet one of the old women; it is not judged to be urgent. By our standards, the Orokaiva mother seems to take very little interest in her baby. He is a nuisance because he hampers her movements. She fondles him very rarely, and frequently she leaves him for short periods in the care of older siblings.

861 My information concerning the Orokaiva attitude towards teething (which 145 occurs well before weaning) is fragmentary. As soon as their teeth begin to appear, children are given solid foods to chew. The few babies I saw biting their mothers' breasts during nursing were quickly cuffed and scolded. One mother giggled, as the